

*Edited by*

GERSHON GALIL, MARK GELLER  
AND ALAN MILLARD

# Homeland and Exile

*Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern  
Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded*

SUPPLEMENTS TO VETUS TESTAMENTUM [130]

BRILL

## Homeland and Exile

# Supplements

to

# Vetus Testamentum

*Edited by the Board of the Quarterly*

H.M. BARSTAD – R.P. GORDON – A. HURVITZ – G.N. KNOPPERS  
A. VAN DER KOOIJ – A. LEMAIRE – C.A. NEWSOM – H. SPIECKERMANN  
J. TREBOLLE BARRERA – H.G.M. WILLIAMSON

VOLUME 130





Professor Bustenay Oded

# Homeland and Exile

Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern  
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## PREFACE

This volume is a scholarly tribute to Bustenay Oded's distinguished career from some of his many contemporaries, colleagues, and former students who not only admire and are constantly inspired by his achievements, but also count him as a friend.

Professor Oded, one of the leading scholars of the History of Ancient Israel, was born in Jerusalem in 1933. At the age of 21 he began his studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in the departments of Bible and Jewish History. In 1964–1965 he was a research student at SOAS in London where he studied with D. J. Wiseman and H. W. F. Saggs. In 1967 he received his Ph.D. from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. His dissertation, written under the supervision of B. Mazar and A. Malamat, was entitled *Israelite Transjordan during the Monarchic Age*.

Oded began his teaching career as an instructor in the department of Jewish History at the University of Haifa in 1966. Four years later he became Lecturer, and in 1973 Senior Lecturer. In 1975 he was appointed Associate Professor, and in 1981 he became full Professor. He retired in 2002. Oded is a captivating teacher. Illustrative of his contribution to teaching is his four volume work on the History of Israel and Judah, published by the Open University (*The History of Israel during the First Temple Period, I–IV* [2nd revised and augmented ed.; Raanana, 2007–2008, Hebrew]).

Oded was also active in academic administration serving in 1974 as the academic head of the Tel-Hai College. At the University of Haifa, he was Chairman of the Department of Jewish History (1975–1977), and Dean of the Graduate School (1983–1986).

Oded filled positions as Research Fellow and Visiting Professor at many important institutions in Europe and the USA. In 1972 he was Research Fellow at the Altorientalisches Seminar in the University of Tübingen; in 1973 he was Visiting Professor at the University of Texas. In 1982–1983 he was invited by Prof. M. Haran to occupy the post of Research Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem; and in 1987–1988, he was Visiting Professor at Johns Hopkins University and at College Park, University of Maryland. In 1998/9 he was Visiting Professor at SOAS in London, and in 2000 at the Department of Religious Studies at Waicato University,

Hamilton, New Zealand. In 2002 he was Visiting Professor at Boston University.

Oded became well known to the scholarly world for his monograph *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1979), having already published a range of essays in English and Hebrew in journals and volumes of collected articles. His second notable monograph appeared in 1992: *War, Peace and Empire: Justifications for War in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* (Wiesbaden). This was the fruit of his wide reading in Assyrian texts and thoughtful analysis of the attitudes they present.

His soon to be published monograph on *The Early History of the Babylonian Exile (8th–6th Centuries BCE)*, (Hebrew) promises to be a major contribution to important, highly debated questions concerning the fate of exiles from the Land of Israel after the consecutive falls of the northern and southern kingdoms, their personal and communal life in foreign lands, and their contribution to the reconstitution of the community in Judea under Persian rule.

Through his studies with B. Mazar, A. Malamat and H. Tadmor in Jerusalem, and with D. J. Wiseman and H. W. F. Saggs in London, he obtained a sound grounding for research in the history of ancient Israel and of Assyria. His bibliography reveals how extensively he pursued that field, both in contributing essays on aspects of history and geography and in writing articles for reference books and other works directed at Israeli students and general readers.

His writings have explored newly available texts as well as re-evaluating evidence from those long known; he has not held back from taking a stand in recent controversies, notably on the reality of biblical history.

The most important characteristic of Bustenay Oded's work is the ability to assess the complex historical relationships between Assyria and Ancient Israel through thorough study of primary inscriptions in all relevant sources. His work, for instance, on Assyrian history is based upon intense study of Akkadian texts, without reference to Israelite history. On the other hand, when Bustenay engages in comparative studies of biblical and Assyrian history, the results are sober and reserved, avoiding the pitfalls of over-interpretation of the biblical text based on inferences from Akkadian historical texts.

Colleagues at home and abroad who have enjoyed Bustenay's genial company and friendly hospitality gladly join in expressing their appreciation of his personality, as well as his scholarship, in this volume.

Gershon Galil, Mark Geller, and Alan Millard

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## ABBREVIATIONS

### BIBLICAL BOOKS

Gen	Hos	Ps ( <i>pl.</i> :Pss)
Ex	Joel	Prov
Lev	Amos	Job
Num	Obad	Ruth
Deut	Jona	Cant
Josh	Mic	Eccl (or Qoh)
Judg	Nah	Lam
1–2 Sam	Hab	Estr
1–2 Kgs	Zeph	Dan
Isa	Hag	Ezra
Jer	Zech	Neh
Ez	Mal	1–2 Chron

### DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND RELATED TEXTS

CD	The Damascus Document (Geniza manuscripts)
1QM	The War Scroll from Qumran Cave 1
3Q15	The Copper Scroll from Qumran Cave 3
11QT <sup>a</sup>	The Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (first copy)

### PERIODICALS, REFERENCE WORKS, AND SERIES

ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
AB	Anchor Bible
ABC	A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i> (TCS 5; Locust Valley, 1975)
ABL	R. F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum</i> , I–XIV (Chicago 1892–1914)
AEAD	S. Parpola, <i>Assyrian-English-Assyrian Dictionary</i> (Helsinki, 2007)
Afo	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
ÄHG	J. Assmann, <i>Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete</i> (Zürich, 1975)
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> (Wiesbaden, 1965–1981)
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syriens-Palästinas

AMI	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
ANET	J. B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> (3rd ed., Princeton, 1969)
AnOr	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ARAB	D. D. Luckenbill, <i>Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia</i> , I–II (Chicago, 1926–1927)
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i>
ASSF	Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
AUU	Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis
AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Endberichte
AUWE 5	E. Gehlken, <i>Uruk. Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv</i> , I (AUWE 5; Mainz, 1990)
AUWE 11	E. Gehlken, <i>Uruk. Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv</i> , II (AUWE 11; Mainz, 1996)
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeologist Reader</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BATSH 6	K. Radner, <i>Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad</i> , Mit Beiträgen von W. Röllig zu den aramäischen Beischriften (BATSH 6; Berlin, 2002)
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs (eds.), <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (1st ed. 1904; Oxford, 1962)
BETHL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BIWA	R. Borger, <i>Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals</i> (Wiesbaden, 1996)
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament
BM	siglum of objects in the Department of the Ancient Near East of the British Museum
Brockhaus, 2001	<i>Die Enzyklopädie</i> in 24 Bänden
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur <i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History (2nd ed.)
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly – Monograph Series
CC	Corpus Christianorum

CDA	J. Black, A. George and N. Postgate, <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> (Wiesbaden, 2000)
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CRAAI	Compte rendu, Rencontre assyriologique internationale
CS II	W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger (eds.), <i>The Context of Scripture (CS) II. Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World</i> (Leiden, 2003)
CSMSB	<i>Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Bulletin</i>
CT	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i>
CT 34	L. W. King, <i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, part 34</i> (London, 1914)
CT 54	M. Dietrich, <i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, part 54</i> (London, 1979)
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
CTN I	J. V. Kinnier Wilson, <i>The Nimrud Wine Lists</i> (CTN I; London, 1972)
CTN II	J. N. Postgate, <i>The Governor's Palace Archive</i> (CTN II; London, 1973)
CTN III	S. M. Dalley and J. M. Postgate, <i>The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser</i> (CTN III; London, 1984)
CTN V	H. W. F. Saggs, <i>The Nimrud Letters, 1952</i> (CTN V; London, 2001)
DCH	D. J. A. Clines, <i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> , I–VI (Sheffield, 1995–2007)
DNWSI	J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions, With Appendices by R. C. Steiner, A. M. Moshavi and B. Porten</i> , I–II (Leiden, 1995)
DUL	G. Del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, <i>A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition</i> (2nd ed.; HdO I 67; Leiden – Boston, 2004)
EdF	Ertäge der Forschung
EI	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
ÉRC	Éditions recherche sur les civilisations
ExpT	<i>Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	The Forms of The Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FTS	Frankfurter Theologische Studien
GAG	W. von Soden, <i>Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik</i> (3rd ed.; Roma, 1995)
GCCI	Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions
GCCI 1	R. P. Dougherty, <i>Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions</i> , I (GCCI 1; New Haven, 1923)
GCCI 2	R. P. Dougherty, <i>Archives from Erech, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods</i> (GCCI 2; New Haven, 1933)

HAL	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i> (3rd ed.; Leiden – Boston, 2004)
HALOT	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> , I–V (Tran. by M. E. J. Richardson; Leiden, 1994–2000)
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBS	Herders Biblische Studien
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HdO	Handbook of Oriental Studies
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HThKAT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IM	siglum of objects in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad
JADIS	Jordan Antiquities Database and information system, Amman
JANES	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
Janssen	J. Janssen, <i>De traditioneele egyptische Autobiographie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk</i> , vol. 1: <i>Teksten</i> , vol. 2: <i>Vertaling en Commentaar</i> (Leiden, 1946)
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus Hellenistisch-Römischer Zeit
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
K	siglum of the texts in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum
KAH 1	L. Messerschmidt, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts</i> , I (Leipzig, 1911)
KAH 2	O. Schröder, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts</i> , II (Leipzig, 1922)
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> , I–III (Wiesbaden, 1st ed. 1962–1964; 5th ed. 2002)
KAR	E. Ebeling, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur)</i> , Leipzig, 1919)
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KAV	O. Schröder, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts</i> (Leipzig, 1920)

KBL	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, <i>Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros</i> (Leiden, 1958)
KHCAT	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
KJV	<i>King James Version</i>
KTU	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartín, <i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places</i> (2nd enlarged ed.; ALASP 8; Münster, 1995)
LAPO	Litteratures anciennes du Proche-Orient
Les.	K. Sethe, <i>Ägyptische Lesestücke, Texte des Mittleren Reiches</i> (Hildesheim, 1971)
LKA	E. Ebeling, <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur</i> (Berlin, 1953)
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
MRS	Mission Ras Shamra
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft
NAB	<i>New American Bible</i>
NABU	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>
NAC	New American Commentary
NCB	New Century Bible
ND	siglum of texts excavated in the British excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu)
NEB	<i>New English Bible</i>
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIV	<i>New International Version</i>
NL	letters from Nimrud (Kalhu)
NRSV	<i>New Revised Standard Version</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PIHANS	Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul. Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
PNA	<i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> (Helsinki 1998–): Vol. 1/I, 1998 (ed. K. Radner); Vol. 1/II, 1999 (ed. K. Radner); Vol. 2/I, 2000 (ed. H. D. Baker); Vol. 2/II, 2001 (ed. H. D. Baker); Vol. 3/I, 2002 (ed. H. D. Baker)
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
REB	<i>Revised English Bible</i>
RIMA 2	A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C., II (1114–859 B.C.)</i> , (RIMA 2; Toronto, 1991)



- RIMA 3 A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C.*, III (858–745 B.C.), (RIMA 3; Toronto, 1996)
- RIMS 1 V. Donbaz and A. K. Grayson, *Royal Inscriptions on Clay Cones from Ashur Now in Istanbul* (RIMS 1; Toronto, 1984)
- RIA Reallexikon der Assyriologie
- RS field numbers of tablets excavated at Ras Shamra
- RSOu Ras Shamra – Ougarit
- RSV *Revised Standard Version*
- SAA State Archives of Assyria
- SAA I S. Parpola, (ed.), *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I, Letters from Assyria and the West* (Helsinki, 1987)
- SAA III A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* (SAA III; Helsinki, 1989)
- SAA V G. B. Lanfranchi and S. Parpola (eds.), *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II, Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces* (Helsinki, 1990)
- SAA VI T. Kwasman and S. Parpola (eds.), *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part I: Tiglath-Pileser III through Esarhaddon* (Helsinki, 1991)
- SAA VIII H. Hunger, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings* (Helsinki, 1992)
- SAA X S. Parpola (ed.), *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Helsinki, 1993)
- SAA XII L. Kataja and R. M. Whiting (eds.), *Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period* (SAA XII; Helsinki, 1995)
- SAA XIII S. W. Cole and P. Machinist (eds.), *Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal* (Helsinki, 1998)
- SAA XV A. Fuchs and S. Parpola (eds.), *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part III, Letters from Babylonia and the Eastern Provinces* (Helsinki, 2001)
- SAA XVI M. Luukko and G. van Buylaere (eds.), *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon* (Helsinki, 2002)
- SAAB *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
- SAAS *State Archives of Assyria Studies*
- SAK *Studien zur Altägyptische Kultur*, Berlin
- SBA *Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände*
- SBLSS *Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series*
- SEÅ *Svensk exegetisk årsbok*
- SHCANE *Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East*
- SSU *Studia Semitica Uppsaliensia*
- StAT *Studien zu den Assur-Texten*
- StAT 1 K. Radner, *Ein neuassyrisches Privatarhiv der Tempelgoldschmiede von Assur* (StAT 1; Saarbrücken, 1999)
- StAT 2 V. Donbaz and S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul* (StAT 2; Saarbrücken, 2001)
- StAT 3 B. Faist, *Alltagstexte aus neuassyrischen Archiven und Bibliotheken der Stadt Assur* (StAT 3; Wiesbaden, 2007)

SWU	H. Freydank, <i>Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus Uruk</i> (Berlin, 1971)
TA	<i>Tel Aviv</i>
TAPS NS	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series</i>
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
TCS 3	G. B. Gragg, <i>The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns</i> (TCS 3; Locust Valley, 1969)
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
TCL 3	G. B. Gragg, <i>The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns</i> (TCL 3; Locust Valley, 1969)
TCL 12	G. Contenau, <i>Contrats néo-babyloniens I: de Téglaṭh-phalasar III à Nabonide</i> (TCL 12; Paris, 1927)
TCL 13	G. Contenau, <i>Contrats néo-babyloniens II: achéménides et séleucides</i> (TCL 13; Paris, 1929)
TCS	Textes from Cuneiform Sources
TDOT	G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> (Grand Rapids, 1974–2006)
ThB	Theologische Bücherei
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
TNK	<i>TANAK: A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic text</i> (2nd ed.; The Jewish Publication Society of America; Philadelphia, 1978)
TUAT	<i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments</i>
UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
UCP 9	H. F. Lutz, <i>Neo-Babylonian Administrative Documents from Erech</i> (UCP 9/I–II; Berkeley, 1927)
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
Urk. IV	K. Sethe, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, I–IV</i> (Berlin, 1927–1930)
UT	C. H. Gordon, <i>Ugaritic Textbook</i> (AnOr 38; Rome, 1965)
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VAB 4	S. Langdon and R. Zehnpfund, <i>Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften</i> (VAB 4; Leipzig, 1912)
VAT	siglum of texts in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	<i>Vetus Testamentum Supplements</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	<i>Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament</i>
WO	<i>Welt des Orient</i>
YOS	Yale Oriental Series
YOS 6	R. P. Dougherty, <i>Records from Erech. Time of Nabonidus</i> (YOS 6; New Haven, 1920)
YOS 7	A. Tremayne, <i>Records from Erech. Time of Cyrus and Cambyses</i> (YOS 7; New Haven, 1925)
YOS 17	D. B. Weisberg, <i>Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts</i> (YOS 17; New Haven, 1980)

YOS 19	P.-A. Beaulieu, <i>Legal and Administrative Texts from the Reign of Nabonidus</i> (YOS 19; New Haven, 2000)
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZAR	<i>Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>
ZB	<i>Zürcher Bibelkommentar</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

# AN ELAMITE DEPORTEE

BETINA FAIST

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Mass deportation was an integral part of Neo-Assyrian military practice, and we are indebted to Bustenay Oded for a systematic and encompassing study about this phenomenon. Deportation had fairly diverse aims: to punish rebellion against the Assyrian authority, to weaken rival powers, to enlarge the Assyrian army and obtain new labour force, both specialized and unspecialized, to enlarge the populations of cities and strategic areas, and to repopulate destroyed, abandoned, or sparsely populated regions in order to enhance the economic activity.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from some letters and legal and administrative texts, the bulk of the information comes from royal inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> It is an honour and a pleasure to present Professor Oded on the occasion of his 75th anniversary with a still unpublished legal document from Ashur (VAT 9755), which confirms and complements data from this main source.

## I. *Description of the tablet*

The tablet was unearthed during the excavations of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in Ashur between 1903 and 1914. Since the excavation number is no longer available, the exact spot where the tablet was found is unknown (but see below). Now, it is kept at the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, inventory number VAT 9755,

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<sup>1</sup> B. Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1979), pp. 41–74. For a recent, albeit more restricted treatment of the subject see S. Lackenbacher, “Les étrangers dans l’empire néo-assyrien à travers la correspondance des Sargonides”, in J. J. Justel, J. P. Vita and J. Á. Zamora (eds.), *Las culturas del Próximo Oriente Antiguo y su expansión mediterránea* (Zaragoza, 2008), pp. 35–51.

<sup>2</sup> Oded, *ibid.*, pp. 6–16.

and belongs to a group of texts entrusted to the present writer for publication in the framework of the “Assur-Projekt” (Berlin) led by Prof. Dr. Johannes Renger.

The tablet has the common Neo-Assyrian format for conveyance documents: vertical shape with two stamp seal impressions between rulings at the top of the obverse. It measures  $9.6 \times 4.3 \times 2.5$  cm and is almost completely preserved. The surface of the obverse is slightly rubbed off, and the lower right corner of the reverse, as well as the top edge with the dating is damaged. A copy of the tablet will be published in *Neuassyrische Rechtsurkunden IV* (as a volume of the Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft). As always, Evelyn Klengel-Brandt will contribute the corresponding catalogue of seal impressions.

The text records the sale of a woman and her daughter, who are characterized as Elamite captives (lines 12–15). Except for this rather unusual remark, the document shows the prevailing Neo-Assyrian legal formulary and is written in the Neo-Assyrian cuneiform script. It has already been cited in the literature.<sup>3</sup>

## II. Transliteration and translation of VAT 9755

- Obv. 1  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{NA} \\ 4 \end{smallmatrix} \right] [\text{KIŠIB}] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{m} \\ \text{m} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ŠU}^? \\ \text{ŠU}^? \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-} \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ré} \\ \text{ré} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-} \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ni}^? \\ \text{ni}^? \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{LÚ}^* \\ \text{LÚ}^* \end{smallmatrix} \right] [\text{x-x}]$   
 $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{NA} \\ 4 \end{smallmatrix} \right] [\text{KIŠIB}] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{m} \\ \text{m} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{x-x} \\ \text{x-x} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-} \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{x} \\ \text{x} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{LÚ}^* \\ \text{LÚ}^* \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{x-x}$   
 $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{m} \\ \text{m} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{d} \\ \text{d} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{x-x-x} \\ \text{x-x-x} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{LÚ}^* \\ \text{LÚ}^* \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{x} \\ \text{x} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-} [\text{x}]$   
 $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{m} \\ \text{m} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{IR} \text{-} \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{XV} \\ \text{XV} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{LÚ}^* \\ \text{LÚ}^* \end{smallmatrix} \right] [\text{x-x-x}]$   
5  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{m} \\ \text{m} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{si-lim-aš+šur} \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{LÚ}^* \\ \text{LÚ}^* \end{smallmatrix} \right] [\text{x-x-x}]$   
 $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{m} \\ \text{m} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{GIR.2-aš+šur} \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{LÚ}^* \\ \text{LÚ}^* \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{NINDA}$   
 $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{m} \\ \text{m} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{qí} \\ \text{qí} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-} \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{bit}^? \\ \text{bit}^? \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-} \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{aš+šur} \\ \text{aš+šur} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{LÚ}^* \\ \text{LÚ}^* \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{x-x} \\ \text{x-x} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$   
 $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{m} \\ \text{m} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{sa} \\ \text{sa} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-} \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{kip} \\ \text{kip} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-} \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{aš+šur} \\ \text{aš+šur} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{LÚ}^* \\ \text{LÚ}^* \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{SIMUG.KÛ.GI} \\ \text{SIMUG.KÛ.GI} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$   
 $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{m} \\ \text{m} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{GIN}^? \\ \text{GIN}^? \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-} \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{u}^? \\ \text{u}^? \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-} \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{a}^? \\ \text{a}^? \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{LÚ}^* \\ \text{LÚ}^* \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{x-x} \\ \text{x-x} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$   
10  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{m} \\ \text{m} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{AD-GIŠ} \\ \text{AD-GIŠ} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{LÚ}^* \\ \text{LÚ}^* \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{SIMUG.KÛ} \\ \text{SIMUG.KÛ} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$   
 $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{EN MUNUS SUM} \\ \text{EN MUNUS SUM} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-} \text{an}$

<sup>3</sup> K. Deller, “Review article of CAD A/I”, *Orientalia* 34 (1965), p. 264; E. Klengel-Brandt and K. Radner, “Die Stadtbeamten von Assur und ihre Siegel”, in S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting (eds.), *Assyria 1995* (Helsinki, 1997), p. 142; K. Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Privatrechtsurkunden als Quelle für Mensch und Umwelt* (SAAS VI; Helsinki, 1997), pp. 226, 246–247, 332–333, 354 n. 1935; G. Galil, *The Lower Stratum Families in the Neo-Assyrian Period* (CHANE 27; Leiden – Boston, 2007), pp. 32, 79, 159, 191, 239, 262 (referred to as VAT 9755, text No. 69, or family No. 97). *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (PNA), also makes reference to our text in several entries.

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(two stamp seal impressions)

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- <sup>[f̄]</sup><sub>1d</sub>na-na-DINGIR-[a<sup>2</sup>]-[a<sup>2</sup>] DUMU.MUNUS  
 PAB 2 <sup>LÜ\*</sup>ZI.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> <sup>[h]</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-ub-tú  
 ša ELAM.<sup>[k]</sup>MA<sup>[k]</sup> ša LUGAL  
 15 a-na <sup>URU</sup>ŠA.URU i-din-u-[ni]  
     [ú]-piš-ma <sup>m</sup>man-nu-ki-aš+šur  
     [x-x]-[x<sup>1</sup>]-su-šú ina ŠA-bi  
 B.E. <sup>[1]</sup>MA.NA <sup>[KÛ]</sup>BABBAR<sup>1</sup> TA<sup>\*</sup> IGI <sup>[x]</sup>  
     <sup>[il-qi kas-pu]</sup> <sup>[gam-mur]</sup>  
 20 [ta-d]in UN.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> za-<sup>[rip]</sup>-[pu]  
 Rev. <sup>[la-qi-ú]</sup> man-nu ša i-bal-[kât-u-ni]  
     aš+šur <sup>[d]</sup><sup>[UTU]</sup> lu EN de-[ni-šú]  
     5 MA.NA KÛ.BABBAR SU[M-an]  
     IGI <sup>m</sup>IGI-aš+šur-IGI.LAL  
 25 IGI <sup>m</sup>kan-dâl-a-nu <sup>LÜ\*</sup>Ī.DU<sup>8</sup>  
     IGI <sup>m</sup>qí-bit-aš+šur <sup>LÜ\*</sup>ha-za-nu  
     IGI <sup>m</sup>aš+šur-<sup>[É]</sup>ka-la-<sup>[mur]</sup>  
     IGI <sup>m</sup>LAL-APIN-eš <sup>LÜ\*</sup><sup>[x]</sup>  
     IGI <sup>m</sup>rém-ana-aš+šur <sup>LÜ\*</sup>[x]  
 30 IGI <sup>m</sup>mu-SILIM-aš+šur [deleted sign(s)]  
     IGI <sup>m</sup>a-ta-'a-áš <sup>[LÜ\*]</sup><sup>[x]</sup>  
     IGI <sup>m</sup>EN-DINGIR-iq-bu-u-n[i]  
     IGI <sup>m</sup>šú-nu-<sup>[PAB]</sup>.MEŠ-<sup>[iá]</sup> [(x x)]  
     IGI <sup>m</sup>aš+šur-A-AŠ A <sup>m</sup><sup>[x]</sup>-[x-x]  
 35 IGI <sup>m</sup>NU-MAN-E <sup>LÜ\*</sup>[x-x-x]  
     IGI <sup>md</sup>XV<sup>1</sup>-MAN-DÛ [x x x]  
     IGI <sup>md</sup>PA-ZU [x x x]  
     (blank line)  
 T.E. <sup>[ITI]</sup>[x] U<sub>4</sub>.2.[KÁM]  
     [lim-mu <sup>m</sup>x-x-x-x-x]

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<sup>1</sup>[Seal of] Marduk<sup>2</sup>-rēmanni<sup>2</sup>, [profession]. <sup>2</sup>[Seal of PN + profession]. <sup>3</sup>[Ditto: PN + profession]. <sup>4</sup>Ditto: Urdu-Issār, [profession]. <sup>5</sup>[Ditto]: Silim-Aššūr, [profession]. <sup>6</sup>[Ditto]: Šēp-Aššūr, baker. <sup>7</sup>Ditto: Qibit<sup>2</sup>-Aššūr, [profession].

<sup>8</sup>Ditto: Šakip-Aššūr, goldsmith. <sup>9</sup>Ditto: Kēnū<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>, [profession].

<sup>10</sup>Ditto: Abu-lēšir, goldsmith. <sup>11</sup>Sellers (text has singular form) of the woman. (Two stamp seal impressions)

<sup>12</sup>Nanāia-ilā<sup>2</sup> (and her) daughter, <sup>13</sup>a total of two persons, Elamite captives (text has singular form), <sup>14</sup>whom the king <sup>15</sup>has given to Libbi-āli (i.e. the city of Ashur) –

<sup>16</sup>Mannu-ki-Aššūr [son of...?] has treated (them as object of purchase) and thus bought (them) <sup>17</sup>for <sup>18</sup>one mina of silver from [...]. <sup>19</sup>The price [has been paid] completely. <sup>20</sup>The people are legally <sup>21</sup>acquired. Anyone who contra[venes] the agreement (shall get the following punishments): <sup>22</sup>Aššūr (and) Šamaš will certainly be [his] opponents in cou[rt]. <sup>23</sup>He [shall] pay five minas of silver.

<sup>24</sup>Witness: Pān-Aššūr-lāmur. <sup>25</sup>Witness: Kandalānu, door keeper. <sup>26</sup>Witness: Qibīt-Aššūr, mayor. <sup>27</sup>Witness: Aššūr-bētkā-lāmur. <sup>28</sup>Witness: Tuqūnu-ēreš, [profession]. <sup>29</sup>Witness: Rēmanni-Aššūr, [profession]. <sup>30</sup>Witness: Mušallim-Aššūr. <sup>31</sup>Witness: Ata'aš, [profession]. <sup>32</sup>Witness: Adi-ilu-iqbūn[i]. <sup>33</sup>Witness: Šunu-aḥḥē'a. <sup>34</sup>Witness: Aššūr-aplu-iddina, son of [...]. <sup>35</sup>Witness: Šalamšarri-iqbi, [profession]. <sup>36</sup>Witness: Issār-šarru-ibni, [...]. <sup>37</sup>Witness: Nabū-lē'i, [...]. <sup>38</sup>[Month of...], 2nd day, <sup>39</sup>[eponym year of...].

#### Notes

7: Alternative reading: <sup>⌈ m ⌋</sup> <sup>⌈ ki-din-aš+šur ⌋</sup>

18: There is not enough space for the common phrase TA\* IGI LÚ\*.MEŠ an-nu-ti. The preserved traces do not support unequivocally the alternative reading TA\* IGI-šu-nu.

### III. The archival context

As already mentioned, the excavation number of the tablet (Ass.-Nr.) is lost. Nevertheless, some clues to the document's archival context can be obtained by prosopographical analysis. It suggests – admittedly in rather broad terms and by no means cogently – a connection of VAT 9755 to the group of tablets known as N 2 according to O. Pedersén's classification of the Ashur material on the basis of the excavation records.<sup>4</sup> Most of these tablets (lexical lists, omen texts, incantations, etc.) belong to the library of a family of Assyrian scribes who lived next to the large ziqqurra. There are also some archival texts (especially sale contracts), which have recently been published.<sup>5</sup> However, several tablets of N 2 have not yet been identified. While it cannot be ruled out that some of them are lost, others may still be among the texts whose excavation number is no longer preserved.

<sup>4</sup> O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur*, II (Uppsala, 1986), pp. 29–34.

<sup>5</sup> B. Faist, *Alltagstexte aus neuassyrischen Archiven und Bibliotheken der Stadt Assur* (StAT 3; Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 14–47.

A few men mentioned in VAT 9755 can be identified – not with absolute certainty owing to the absence of the respective fathers' names – with persons attested in N 2. Aššūr-bētkā-lāmur and Ata'aš also appear as witnesses in StAT 3 2 (lines 20 and 26 respectively) dating to the post-canonical eponym year of Bēlšunu (648\* B.C.E.).<sup>6</sup> Because of the rarity of these names in the Neo-Assyrian onomastic material – the name Aššūr-bētkā-lāmur occurs only in these two documents, whereas the name Ata'aš perhaps is also to be found in SAAB 5 42:40 (N 9, dating to the 8th or early 7th century B.C.E.) – we may assume that in both cases one and the same person is meant. Moreover, in the witness list of another text from N 2 (StAT 3 12), which, strangely, is not dated, we find three names present in VAT 9755 as well: Aššūr-aplu-iddina (line 23), Šalam-šarri-iqbi (line 24), and Mannu-kī-Aššūr (line 27).<sup>7</sup> In any event, the relationship between Mannu-kī-Aššūr, the buyer of the Elamite woman and her daughter, for whom VAT 9755 was drawn up, and the family of scribes, in whose house the deed was possibly kept, remains unclear. In principle, Mannu-kī-Aššūr could have been an otherwise unknown member of the scribes' family. However, considering that most of the documents from N 2 pose the same problem and that the connection among them is by far the least evident among the Neo-Assyrian archives of Ashur, we have to look for other possibilities. Perhaps Mannu-kī-Aššūr entrusted his deed of ownership to the family of scribes for safekeeping, for example, because of their prestige in the neighbourhood.<sup>8</sup> But other explanations may

<sup>6</sup> Post-canonical eponym sequence according to S. Parpola (see PNA, Part 1/I, pp. XVIII–XX) and, if differing, according to J. Reade, "Assyrian Eponyms, Kings and Pretenders, 648–605 B.C.", *Orientalia* 67 (1998), pp. 255–265.

<sup>7</sup> Some identifications proposed by PNA seem, by contrast, less probable. The seller Silim-Aššūr is identified with the witness of SAAB 9 131:15 (N 24) on account of the presence of Šākip-Aššūr in both documents (R. Mattila, PNA 3/I, p. 1110a, No. 9), although in the treatment of this last name the two attestations are kept separately (K. Radner, PNA 3/I, p. 1066, Nos. 2 and 6). With one exception, all references to Adi-ilu-iqbūni in documents from Ashur are ascribed to the same individual, namely to the *ḥundurāiu* known from N 9 and 10 (K. Radner, PNA 1/I, p. 52b, No. 2). In the absence of further evidence this indeed seems not well-founded. Aššūr-aplu-iddina is identified with the witness of VAT 19537:49 (unpublished) because of the presence of Pān-Aššūr-lāmur (R. Jas, PNA 1/I, p. 154b, No. 10) in both texts. But again, the Pān-Aššūr-lāmur of our text and the one of VAT 19537 are kept apart in a later volume, probably because of the frequency of the name (K. Åkerman, PNA 3/I, p. 984, Nos. 7 and 9).

<sup>8</sup> This phenomenon has been observed, for instance, in Late Bronze Age Emar; see B. Faist, "Scribal Traditions and Administration at Emar", in L. d'Alfonso, Y. Cohen



apply too. K. Radner has pointed out that the price of a purchased person or real estate had not necessarily been paid or paid in full when the document was drawn up, even if it is always written in the past tense. She proposes seeing the keeper of the document (*šābit ṭuppi*), who sometimes appears among the witnesses to the transaction and in many cases was identical with the scribe of the text, as the person who kept the deed till the buyer had fully satisfied the seller.<sup>9</sup> There is no mention of a *šābit ṭuppi* in VAT 9755, but the end of the witness list, where a statement like this is usually to be found, is damaged.<sup>10</sup> In such a case, a link between the *šābit ṭuppi* and the family of scribes should be postulated.

#### IV. *The chronological setting*

Beside the above-mentioned document StAT 3 2 dating from 648\* B.C.E., additional texts can be taken as reference for the chronological setting of VAT 9755. The goldsmith Sākip-Aššūr, one of the ten sellers of the Elamite captives, may be identical with the person of the same name from the goldsmiths' archive (N 33), even if his profession is not given there. He is attested in the judicial document StAT 1 33:14 from the post-canonical eponym year of Šarru-mētu-uballiṭ (640\* or 642\* B.C.E.) and in the letter StAT 1 51:15, which is not dated.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, the mayor Qibīt-Aššūr, placed third in our witness list, most probably presided, with other members of the city administration, over the purchase of a house (StAT 1 22 = StAT 2 244) transacted by someone (the name is broken away) related to the goldsmiths' "guild", as the text was found in N 33.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately the date of this

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and D. Sürenhagen (eds.), *The City of Emar among the Late Bronze Age Empires. History, Landscape, and Society* (AOAT 349; Münster, 2008), pp. 198–199.

<sup>9</sup> See Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Privatrechtsurkunden*, pp. 89–93.

<sup>10</sup> Nabû-lē'i (line 37) would be a good candidate. Two, perhaps three documents from N 2 refer to a *šābit ṭuppi* (always a different person): StAT 3 5: rev. 14'–15', StAT 3 10:33, StAT 3 15: rev.14' (?). In the first two texts the *šābit ṭuppi* is also the scribe.

<sup>11</sup> K. Radner (PNA 3/I, p. 1066a, No. 2) identifies Sākip-Aššūr with another person of the same name (N 12), but does not consider the seller's profession, which makes a connection with N 33 more likely.

<sup>12</sup> So also H. D. Baker, PNA 3/I, 1013a, No. 22. In StAT 1 22:2 Qibīt-Aššūr is specifically called mayor of the Šamaš gate.

sale contract is lost, but prosopographical considerations indicate that it has to be sought after 620\* B.C.E.<sup>13</sup>

The available information thus suggests that the historical context of VAT 9755 is the reign of Ashurbanipal (or later), a fact that also applies to most of the legal texts from Ashur. At that time the long-lasting hostility between Assyria and Elam, going back to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.E.), reached its climax and ended in an (actually short-lived) Assyrian supremacy.<sup>14</sup> The Assyrian royal inscriptions, which represent the main source for Neo-Elamite history, record five military campaigns against Elam, undertaken between 664 and 647 or 646 B.C.E.<sup>15</sup> The last campaign against Huban-haltaš III (Assyrian Ummanaldaš) culminated in the sack of Susa and surpassed all previous campaigns in extent and cruelty, perhaps because of Elamite support for Babylonia in the revolt of Šamaš-šuma-ukin (652–648 B.C.E.). Apart from the tremendous material destruction, a substantial part of the population, livestock, and property was carried off. Ashurbanipal also recovered from Susa a statue of the goddess Nanaya of Uruk, which had been taken away from that city during an Elamite raid in the distant past; he sent it back to the Eanna temple in Uruk.<sup>16</sup> Would it be too far-fetched to see this historical event evoked by the name of the Elamite captive, which in all probability was not her original name?<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See K. Radner, *Ein neuassyrisches Privatarhiv der Tempelgoldschmiede von Assur* (StAT 1; Saarbrücken, 1999), p. 107.

<sup>14</sup> See lastly M. W. Waters, *A Survey of Neo-Elamite History* (SAAS XII; Helsinki, 2000), pp. 45–80. For the iconographic sources (palace reliefs) see J. Reade, “Elam and Elamites in Assyrian Sculpture”, *AMI N.F.* 9 (1976), pp. 97–106, with pls. 21–28.

<sup>15</sup> For the dating of Ashurbanipal’s last two campaigns see G. Frame, *Babylonia 689–627 B.C.* (Istanbul, 1992), pp. 293–295.

<sup>16</sup> See Frame, *ibid.*, pp. 204–205.

<sup>17</sup> Oded, *Mass Deportations*, p. 12, pointed out that “deportees or aliens settled permanently on foreign soil were given to adopting names of the type commonly found in the lands of their exile”. In our case, since the woman was evidently enslaved, it is most probable that she was renamed by her new owners. Changing a name in the Mesopotamian onomasticon has been discussed by D. O. Edzard, “Name, Namengebung”, *RIA* 9 (1998–2001), pp. 109–110, but without taking into consideration the replacement of the name in the case of deportees and other displaced persons.

### V. *Some historical considerations*

Together with Babylonia and Media, Elam belonged to the countries from which the Assyrians most frequently deported people.<sup>18</sup> They did not confine themselves to specific social groups, and they would deport men together with their families so that they would not run away and return to their homeland but would rather become settled in the new place.<sup>19</sup> Against this background it seems likely that the husband of the Elamite captive had already died, perhaps as a war victim, when she was brought to Ashur.

All booty, human as well as animal, was regarded as property of the king.<sup>20</sup> But royal inscriptions frequently note that the king divided it among the soldiers, high-ranking officials, and the inhabitants of the main Assyrian cities.<sup>21</sup> The machinery of distribution is little known. Whereas high-ranking officials may have had the privilege to choose people from a contingent of deportees,<sup>22</sup> in most cases they were likely to be assigned – if not by the king himself – by responsible functionaries<sup>23</sup> or by institutions. From VAT 9755 we learn that the Elamite captive was sold together with her daughter by ten men and that both had previously been given by the king (most likely Ashurbanipal) to the city of Ashur, that is to say to its inhabitants. It is reasonable to assume that the new possessors sold the woman and her child in order to get money that they could easily divided among themselves. This implies

<sup>18</sup> Oded, *ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>19</sup> *Idem*, *ibid.*, pp. 22–25.

<sup>20</sup> *Idem*, *ibid.*, pp. 40 and 85.

<sup>21</sup> Ashurbanipal stated that the captives taken during the second campaign against Huban-haltāš III “were divided among the cult centres, the dwellings of the great gods, my provincial governors, my magnates, and all my army like sheep” (BIWA, p. 59, A VII 6–8).

<sup>22</sup> See, for instance, the letter CTN II 194, written by an officer to his superior, the governor of Kalhu, concerning the booty taken during a military campaign led by the commander-in-chief (*turtānu*). Lines 7–23 run as follows (after the translation by J. N. Postgate): “Out of the captives who came out I have searched and chosen 30 persons [from] them. I applied to the *turtānu*, (and) he has given (them) to me. Out of the captives who were inside Rapīqu, who came out, I have chosen 10 persons from them, (but) the *turtānu* was not in a good mood, (and) I did not apply to him. When he comes into the palace, may my lord speak to him”.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, the sale document StAT 3 15, according to which a garden in a recently conquered region was granted by the commander to his third man (on chariot), who sold it to another person. The garden presumably was part of the booty. Note that it is qualified as gift (*tidittu*) of the commander. Could this term also apply to human booty?

that captives could be assigned to more than one individual, especially when the inhabitants were “common” citizens. Yet the sellers do not seem to have been bound by familial or professional ties, even if not all designations are preserved. One wonders, therefore, how they came to be granted the woman altogether. One possible explanation may be that they were members of an institution through which deportees were allocated. In this case the Ashur temple comes to mind. It is well known that a significant number of craftsmen and other professionals worked for this large institution. Goldsmiths and bakers, both attested in VAT 9755, were very important as they were involved in the fabrication and maintenance of cult statues and other temple treasury,<sup>24</sup> and in the preparation of bakery products for offerings.<sup>25</sup>

As in most cases, we lack any trace of the captive’s personal history. We do not know her position in the Elamite society, and on the basis of VAT 9755 we can only assert that in her new place she had the status of a (domestic) slave who changed hands.<sup>26</sup> In his study, Professor Oded stresses the lack of uniformity in the status of the deportees. He clearly delineates the different socio-economic conditions they attained – from state official to farm worker – and the various degrees of freedom they enjoyed.<sup>27</sup> A great number of them were settled on lands owned by the king or his officials, or by temples, and their situation did not differ from those of other Assyrian subjects. Only in rare cases – and VAT 9755 provides a new example – do they seem to have become domestic slaves. G. Galil has recently shown that most of the slave families in the Neo-Assyrian period were “single-parent families” composed of an adult, predominantly a woman, and their child or children.<sup>28</sup> Among the various constraints given by the author as possible reasons for the existence of this family type he mentions

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<sup>24</sup> See Radner, *Ein neuassyrisches Privatarhiv*, pp. 34–42. Actually, it has been proposed above to identify the goldsmith Sākip-Aššūr with a member of the goldsmiths’ “guild”.

<sup>25</sup> See B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel*, vol. 1 (Studia Pohl Series Maior 10/I; Rome, 1981), pp. 251–253.

<sup>26</sup> See Galil, *The Lower Stratum Families*, pp. 188–191 for the terms used in the Neo-Assyrian period to define slaves. To my knowledge, the only additional reference to an Elamite in the legal texts from Ashur is to be found in a judicial document, unfortunately in a broken context (envelope MAH 16154:7 published by J. N. Postgate, “Assyrian Documents in the Musée d’Art et d’Histoire, Geneva”, *Assur* 2 (1979), p. 11 and pl. III).

<sup>27</sup> Oded, *Mass Deportations*, pp. 75–115.

<sup>28</sup> Galil, *The Lower Stratum Families*, pp. 265 (type A4) and 320.

the “breakup of families due to political circumstances”, especially the enslavement of deported war widows.<sup>29</sup> This, however, may have been more common than explicitly stated in our sources.

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<sup>29</sup> Galil, *ibid.*, p. 323.

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